[BEIDAM]

#177 212 #463 #554 #565 But in every one of the eight groups there is at least one individual who can write a little in Arabic script. Most of the Kabuna, Craftsmen, and Low-status individuals can neither write in Arabic script nor in English script. However, several of the Talaka can write a little at least in Arabic script.

#177 871 212 565 634 The two types of script divide the two educational systems which operate side by side among the Kanuri. English script is taught in the schools; Arabic script is taught by the Malams. Those who have had some extended contact with the Western schools (the NA Malams and the Aristocracy) can write in English script. Those who have studied with a Malam can write in Arabic script. Individuals who fall in this latter category are found in all of the eight groups, and several are among the Talaka. It is noteworthy that the NA Malams, who all write in English script, can also write in Arabic script.

#177 405 #565 #634 Table XVIII presents data on the possession of Western material goods. The first column compares those who own, or have owned a wrist watch. All six NA Malams and 4 of the Aristocrats owned a wrist watch at the time that they were asked. Though a number of individuals in the lower class groups, particularly in the Talaka group, have at one time owned a wrist watch, none owns one at present. This of course reflects the wealth differences among the groups. An individual Talaka may own a wrist watch for a short time, until he finds that he needs cash and sells it to some one else. Members of the NA Malam group and the Aristocracy are sufficiently wealthy to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 258]

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

BEIDAH

Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2*a	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5*b	1	5*c	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4*d	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

*a one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

*b four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

*c one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

*d two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

[GEIDAM]

own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

452 But credit per se plays a large part in the total economy. Thus the
441 butchers all remarked that they would buy cows during the wet season, preferably for cash. If this was not possible, they had arrangements with nomad cattle herders to take a cow on credit for a higher price, and then pay the herder after the meat had been sold. As we have seen, Ajimi's kola-nut business is run on credit. Many of the articles brought into the local market such as small manufactured goods, salt, sugar, cloth, and a host of other items are obtained on credit and payment made
452 after the sale. It is because this entire complex of trading relations
441 depends so much on credit that traditional behaviour norms of bɔrsum
571 and aman are applied to the economic organization. These institutionalized patterns of discipline and trust create an avenue for socially predictable behaviour without which credit relations would be impossible.

442 Credit also plays a part in the introduction of cash into
[452] the Bornu economy from the European sources of capital. The key role
[436] in this transmission is that of the sakelma (scale man) who buys the cash crop in the bush. An insight into this role may be seen in some of the interview material from Malam Mina, a wholesale salt trader, who also buys groundnuts over the scale at Magumeri during the harvest season. During November, Malam Mina, along with fifteen to twenty-five others, comes to Magumeri from the city. He sets up a grass mat shelter at the "station", near the motor road, about two hundred yards west of
[405] the town proper. The hallmark of this little colony is the scale which sits out in front of each shelter with bags of decorticated groundnuts
[443] being prepared for shipment into the city. Each shelter also has a generous supply of textiles for sale so that peasants may purchase their
[369] new cloth on the spot when cashing in the crop. The buyers also bring their city culture with them and during their short stay, morris chairs,

442 369 camp stools, battery radios, talk of politics and city life enliven the rural scene.

442 443 452 Malam Mina buys for his mai gida, Alhaji Ali, a Kanuri trader in Maiduguri who has a retail store or "canteen" as it is called locally. The mai gida gives Malam Mina cigarettes, flashlight batteries, perfumes , etc., for the latter's teber (table) or booth which a young brother runs for him in Maiduguri. [405] Alhaji Ali obtains about ten scales from a Levantine trader during the harvest season and gives them out to his tada (boys) who go to the bush and buy the cash crop. Malam Mina receives a straight commission of 12/- per ton of decorticated nuts and as much profit as he can on the import items (mostly textiles) which are also obtained on credit from his mai gida. He remarked how he had only been with Alhaji Ali this one year, last year having bought for another man who had a direct link to a European company. However, last year he found that his buying price was £2.0.0 less per ton than other [434] scale men, and his commission fell. In 1955 his commission (from receipt slips) was about £60.0.0 but he hoped to get around £75.0.0 or £80.0.0 in 1956-57.

442 435 [455] Malam Mina may, if it is possible, depress the price below the buying price given to him. This causes no undue concern on the part of his mai gida in the city as long as his tonnage does not decline. He also buys futures at 20/- to 25/- per bag, whenever he can, but would not estimate how much of this he does.

441 571 [212] It is interesting to note that Malam Mina has been taken on by his new mai gida and given a trading role without the more usual period of general service and subordination, as in the case of the "boys" of Alkali Bukar. Here we have another example of specialization. Malam Mina is an experienced scale man. He can read and record figures and sign his name.